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Takatu — white water
Tasawini — clear water (puristically: tasiyainye)
Teki — green (creek)
Turingbang — thundering noises from the ground (refe g to rumble of the river or of a rapids at this point)
Wanamu — large turtle
Waramaishuru — mokru creek
Yakaishuru — kasi fish creek
Korotoko — chicken
Haiari — a fish poison (*Lonchocarpus* sp.)

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Groups of Friends. Friendship is a strong factor in the social life of both men and women. Regardless of home, kinship, or settlement, individuals are often especially intimate with other individuals for no other reason than personal congeniality. For practical purposes this form of grouping often lies within the settlement, although I know of cases of men making rather extended tours to visit distant friends. There are always groups of men friends who go hunting together, who build canoes together, tell jokes together, and so on. The same sort of thing is true among the women, who, however, due to modified matrilocal marriage, tend to choose their friends from among their relatives to a greater extent than do the men. In the matters of lending, assistance in work, and sociability, friendship plays at least as large a functional part as does mere kinship, which, when it stands alone, implies for the most part, as among ourselves, rights and duties frequently less vital than those of friendship. The difference of course lies in the fact that friendships may be terminated when for any cause the congeniality essential to them disappears, whereas kinship ties exist in a stronger or weaker condition for life.

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The Kanaima Cult. One of the most intriguing forms of organization is the secret kanaima cult, which will be discussed in some detail in our section on Crime and Punishment. In some form or other it has been reported from many of the Indian tribes of Guiana, without reference to linguistic divisions. From the social point of view the membership of the cult, if such actually exists, represents an important, though perhaps temporary, division of the population, a group which is, however, outside the limits of nor-

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794 mal society. The motivations for joining the kanaima cult are, apparently, first, failure to obtain redress for a wrong in other ways, and second, generally antisocial attitude. Membership is limited to the male sex. It is seldom that a kanaima reforms and gives up the life.

571 **Summary.** Six types of social grouping have been described. The first five types, immediate family, kin, extended family, friendship group, and settlement, may be considered basic elements of the social structure. The kanaima cult is a specialized grouping not directly connected with the social organization of the community as a whole.

Two factors, which are present in all societies, namely, age and sex, further affect the social life of a Carib community. Here, as elsewhere, among human societies, are infants, adolescents, middle aged adults, and old people. Here also are males and females. However, no groupings in Carib life depend primarily upon either of these factors. Both sexes and all ages are present in the immediate family, kin, extended family, and settlement, although in each of these groups the degree of cooperation between specified individuals is positively correlated with the degree of similarity between them in regard to age or sex or both. Friendship groups are usually composed of individuals of the same sex and the same generation. The kanaima cult is composed only of men, although of varying ages above that of maturity.

565 It may be asked why headmen, priests, and sorcerers, respectively, are not assigned to special groups. Although each of these officials is distinguished from the commonality on account of his position, each is a lone wolf in his official capacity, requiring in his functions the assistance of no organized group of colleagues. Furthermore, each settlement has only one headman and usually not more than three priests and sorcerers, so that a local basis for grouping is absent. In the frame of Carib society as a whole, these three officials may be said to belong respectively to three professional classes, but these classes are not in any sense functioning social groups because the members, although fulfilling similar individual functions, do not cooperate in them.

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tion room made of palm leaves. Here the practitioner calls the spirit which is harming his patient. He tells the spirit that it must desist, otherwise he will call the tiger spirit, which will devour the offending spirit. The theory of the above described shooting process is this. Although the piaiyen is spoken of as shooting his victim, he ceases to be the active agent once he has convoked a spirit. The stones which are projected are used by the spirits in the same way in which arrows are used by human beings. The piaiyen is a passive agent at the service of the spirit.

Direct personal retribution for an offense may be used in cases where the culprit is caught red-handed. If a man surprises another committing adultery with his wife, immediate violence will be the result. Fists, cutlasses, bows and arrows, or guns will be employed. A good many petty grievances also come to blows, usually disputes arising during cassiri sprees. When a man is sober, he prefers to seek satisfaction in a more secret manner. It sometimes happens that, as a result of a fight, two settlements are officially at odds with one another; members of the respective settlements are forbidden by a consensus of opinion to have anything to do with those of the other. In case a member of one settlement transgresses this prohibition and enters into friendly relations with the other group, the headman of his own group may attempt to use either oral or physical coercion to enforce conformity.

Perhaps the most interesting of the forms of personal retribution is kanaima, a cult which is found among practically all of the Indians of the Guianas.[1]

If all other means of obtaining redress have failed, a man may decide to become a kanaima. This is a very serious step because it means that he must leave family and friends, must undergo extreme privations and social ostracism, must devote all his life and energies to the accomplishment of his purpose. The facts concerning this strange cult are difficult to determine because I have not succeeded in interviewing any individual who would admit having been a kanaima. This indicates that membership in the kanaima cult is itself an offense, while on the other hand it may be used as a path to punishment. The beliefs and attitudes concerning the cult are, however, herewith briefly set forth.

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, Chap. 18. Farabee, 1924, *The Central Caribs*.

794 If you wish to become a kanaima, you establish contact with a kanaima headman, who can usually be found hiding about in the bush. He teaches you the art. During the novitiate you sleep at home, but spend your days in the bush with your teacher. You are taught to enter houses without being seen, to twist joints and manipulate bones, to benumb the senses of your victim, and so on. One of the disagreeable features of the cult is that the members find the habit of evil doing difficult to break, so that after accomplishing the original purpose of revenge, the kanaima [691] continues to practice his outrages on innocent victims. For this reason, kanaimas are feared and may be killed on sight by all normal persons.

794 824 Kanaimas lead an abstinent life. They eat no meat, with the exception of the djokoro (dukwaru) bird, which, because it is not easily seen in nature, is believed to make them invisible. Other meat is believed to make them heavy footed. They eat a pimpler palm called kosako because doing so causes the kanaima's victim to have the sensation of being choked and pricked. They eat rupe, a white fungus which grows on dry wood, because it makes them light so that they can run fast. They drink only rain water which has collected in the hollows of leaves; creek water is not imbibed because it is running too strongly and makes the kanaima lose control of himself too easily, while the rain water is clear and makes him clear headed. At night they rub their skins with pepper, instead of building fires to keep them warm. As a result of these austerities, it is said that no animal will eat the body of a kanaima, the flesh being too rank.

794 754 [824] It is believed that kanaimas roam about the bush waiting for an opportunity to waylay a victim. Across the trail they stretch a spider web on which is rubbed the juice of a plant called kuraru. When the victim touches the web, he falls as in a trance, whereupon the kanaimas leap upon him, twist his joints, and stretch his tendons. They also carry a black powder made from the dried powdered root of a plant called masi. This powder, put in the mouth of the victim, makes him cough and sneeze and get a cold. If it is swallowed, the viscera decay. Victims usually do not remember enough of their experiences to talk about it afterward, but to prevent any possibility of betrayal, the kanaima may pierce the tongue of the victim with a snake's fang which he

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carries for the purpose. When they have finished their work, the kanaimas disappear, leaving their victim to regain consciousness alone. After a time he picks himself up and goes home where he soon develops fever, has aching joints, and speedily dies. Due to the fact that he cannot or will not talk, the unfortunate sufferer's friends and relatives are able to obtain no particulars which would enable them to seek out the kanaimas. The work of the kanaimas can, however, usually be recognized by the blue finger marks on the body of the victim, bruises left by the kanaimas while manhandling him.

There is no cure for the fever and "bone ache" resulting from an encounter with kanaimas. The kanaimas must simply be avoided. A small beeswax image made in the shape of a man, if carried in the bush, enables one to spot the anaesthetizing spider web, and often the kanaimas themselves, before harm can be done. A certain plant with roots resembling a closed fist, if hung in the house, frightens kanaimas away. As an antidote for the black masi powder taken internally, the slimy inside bark of the congo pump tureke is made into an infusion and drunk. (Sarusaru congo pump is not used for this purpose.) If the kanaima has put the powder on the victim's skin, the black banana sucker (mekuru myu) is pounded, soaked in water, and applied to the skin. After the kanaima victim has died, further precautions must be taken. The kanaima, to complete his task, must visit the grave and suck the waters of decay from the body, usually through a hollow reed which is inserted into the ground. If the kanaima does not succeed in drinking the body liquids he will die a horrible death; they purify his body in some way after the perpetration of the outrage. To forestall the kanaima, the body may be wrapped in the leaves of the small banana (puma' bu), which are poison for kanaimas, but not for other persons. Or the juice of the haiari (a fish poison) is mixed with some of the body waters and placed in a bowl on the grave. A kanaima's one aim at this point is to drink some of the body juices, however this may be accomplished. Finding in a bowl on the grave some of these juices, the taste and odor of which completely obliterate the slight acridity of the haiari, the kanaima is believed to drink unsuspectingly and thus be deceived.

In comment upon the beliefs regarding kanaimas, it must be

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794 said, first, that there can be no doubt that such beliefs do exist. Whether or not, on the other hand, this cult actually exists I am unable to say with certainty, because none of my informants would admit having used this method of punishment, nor was any of the several hundred men with whom I came in contact pointed out as being, now or formerly, a member of the cult. But examples of former members of the tribe killed as kanaimas were recited. Such findings are, of course, perfectly in consonance with the beliefs regarding the cult, because discovery of membership means instant death at the hands of non-members. On the theory that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire, I am inclined to believe that there is such a cult of avengers, voluntary outcasts who, with the aid of black magic, devote a period to vengeance and possibly to purely malicious mischief. Nevertheless, it seems that many of their activities are grossly exaggerated parts of the folk-lore, and that many undesirable phenomena and uncomfortable bodily symptoms of other origin are erroneously attributed to them. In any case, the mere fact that they are believed to be effective agents of punishment justifies a consideration of the subject in a discussion of Carib penology.

626 So much for the personal methods of punishment and retribution. Occasionally a member of a group acquires a reputation among his fellows as an undesirable character. He may repeatedly pilfer from others' fields; he may trouble the women, be lazy, show himself ungenerous, constantly pick quarrels, or make himself obnoxious in other ways. The men of the settlement will talk to him, but if he does nothing to improve his position in their eyes, he will be advised to leave on pain of having life made very unpleasant for him. If he persists in remaining, he will find that he and his family are social outcasts; they are not invited to drinking parties; he will be unable to borrow anything; he will get no help in hunting, fishing, field cutting, canoe building, or other activities in which the men assist one another, nor will his wife receive aid in her occupations; his household will be excluded from the water-hole and bathing place. In short, he will lose all advantages of group life. In aggravated cases, the other men may beat him or even kill him, if he fails to take the hint. Ostracism within the group and violence are, however, seldom necessary. Such a man with a vestige of common sense "clears out while